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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1925

WHOLE NO. 510

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THE GREEK PAPYRI AS HISTORICAL MATERIAL¹

In the ancient Hymn to the Nile^{1a} the old Pharaonic scribe Ennana thus adores the power of the river:

He shines when he issues forth from darkness, to cause his flocks to prosper.

It is his force that gives existence to all things; nothing remains hidden for him.

He watches over his works, producing the inundation during the night.

The references to the darkness from which the Nile comes and to the rise of "the inundation during the night" have been explained as indicating the ancient celebration of a festival still held in Egypt on the fifth of June, when the flood is commonly thought to begin. Plutarch has preserved for us the Egyptian tradition that the rise of the Nile was due to the tear which dropped into the river from the eye of the goddess Isis. This tradition is responsible for the Arab name of the festival of to-day. It is *Lelet-en-Nuqta*, the "Night of the Drop".

In the Hymn to the Nile the scribe has also expressed the old Egyptian idea that the Nile alone is exempt from a law which rules all the other multifarious gods of the land. The divine Nile is not forced to submit to the power of incantations. In spite of incantations, he remains hidden in his secret retreat, enshrouded in mystery:

He is not enticed by incantations!

None knows the place where he dwells,

None discovers his retreat by the power of a written spell.

He issues forth at his pleasure through the magic spells.

All the other gods must appear in bodily presence, when invoked by set formulae accompanied by the magic power of incense from a definite combination of herbs. In the earlier years of Gaston Maspero's archaeological labors in Egypt these same formulae, even the names of the herbs to be used, had come down into the Arab vocabulary of modern Egyptian magic. The ancient Egyptian words were still to be recognized. So complete and definite had been the tradition of the craft of magicians that Maspero, through his ability to repeat the ancient formulae which he had learned from the Pharaonic hieroglyphs, was accepted by the Arab magical craftsmen as one endowed with the same power as they themselves had. Hence, as the

Arabs told Maspero, there was no merit in attempting to hide from his insight the places of the ancient treasures. Could not he, also, see four feet beneath the baked crust of the earth?

The correctness of one's historical approach to the history of Egypt in any of its phases is conditioned by one's understanding of this amazing strength of the old tradition. New blood has come into the country on many occasions. The old Egyptian stock has, as constantly, assimilated it. Alien dynasties have ruled the country for twenty-four centuries. What difference does it make? The old insistence upon Egyptian national independence still asserts itself, after all the centuries of lethargy. Under British occupation the irrigation system of entire Egypt has been modernized. Nevertheless in Upper Egypt the ancient *shadouf* is still in constant use. Cotton production has displaced the ancient staples of wheat and barley as the primary crop of the valley. The change is merely extrinsic and of superficial importance. The annual deposit of the Nile slime has not changed. It is fundamental. The Nile is still a god, the economic god of Egypt. As of old "he is the creator of all good things. . . . He spreads himself over Egypt, filling the granaries, renewing the marts, watching over the goods of the unhappy. He is prosperous to the height of all desires without fatiguing himself therefor". But he is a god who demands unremitting devotion from his subjects, the devotion of constant toil. Otherwise he is sparing of the blessings which he bestows. The climate of the country has remained just as constant and uniform as the rise of the Nile. Within the five millennia of its recorded history there has been no appreciable change in the rainfall of Egypt. Else we should have no papyri to-day.

This is the setting necessary to a correct understanding of the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine domination of Egypt. The foreign rule which emanated successively from the chancelleries of Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople endured from 332 B. C. to 641 A. D., almost a thousand years. In the spirit of the people of Egypt of to-day no appreciable trace is left of those years, because the affiliations of Egypt have always been essentially West-Asiatic and Oriental, rather than North-Mediterranean and Western. In those thousand years the deeper coloration of life in the Nile valley remained Egyptian. The external coloration was Greek throughout the period, just as the papyri continued to be written primarily in the Greek language⁴. The demotic, Coptic, and Arabic papyri

¹This paper had been long in hand, awaiting publication, before, as Secretary-Treasurer of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, I persuaded its author to read it at the Seventh Annual Fall Meeting of the Association, at Barnard College, Columbia University, on November 28, 1925.

^{1a}For this Hymn to the Nile see *Records of the Past*, New Series, 3-48-54. The translations of the Hymn here quoted are those of Paul Guéysson.

^{1b}*Ibidem*, 51, note 2.

²*Ibidem*, 49.

⁴Greek papyri appear after the Arab conquest in isolated instances into the tenth century, but not in great numbers. The year 641 may be taken as the most convenient date for the beginning of the papyri in Arabic.

are unfortunately not open in the original to the greater number of scholars of classical training because of the heavy linguistic demands which the acquisition of a knowledge of these languages would impose. The standards of criticism applicable to these documents and their historical importance are, however, not radically different from those to be established for the Greek papyri, just as their range of historical subject and content is much the same; and the scholar who reads the Greek papyri is equally equipped to include the relatively small number of those written in Latin that fall within the range of his researches.

When the history of Egypt and its people is looked at in long perspective, its most marked peculiarity will seem to be the unchanging character of the foundations of the economic life of the land, as determined in part by the Nile flood, in part by the Red Sea as the waterway to the Orient and so the avenue of its Eastern foreign trade. The Nile flood is not necessarily constant in its historical operation, nor is the Red Sea route. Unless subjected to the unswerving and constant directing energies of men, the Nile flood produces little. If there is not an intelligent and strong central authority directing it, the irrigation system breaks down, and with it the prosperity and the power of the State. In like manner the effectiveness and value of the Red Sea as a waterway to the Orient depend upon the nature of the control of its two entrances, north and south. For a long period before the construction of the Suez Canal the Red Sea route was no more than a potential factor in the commerce of the world: it was, in fact, temporarily dormant and inoperative. One must always allow for such reversions in generalizing upon the effects of geographic agencies in history. With this reservation it is safe to say that few geographic factors in the world's history have been more constant than these two.

In the second and the first millennia before Christ the direct trade of Egypt did not extend eastward and southward beyond the Arabian and African coasts. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods the Red Sea route tapped all the sources of Indian trade and that of the Far East by direct contact. It does so now. The opening of air lines to India during the World War only enhanced the commercial importance of Egypt as a place en route, for the mail lines by air to-day jump off at Cairo, wing over the Arabian desert to Basra, and proceed thence to India. Should commerce by air lines develop in importance, the advantage of the Arabian desert for landing purposes seems destined to fix the line of flight from the centers of European commerce to India via Egypt. The old basic lines of the Eastern traffic will thus still maintain themselves. Hangars will be an additional feature of the old caravanserais; but this will be the only change.

Within the framework of these constant features of the economic life of Egypt lies, I am inclined to believe, that service of the Greek papyri which will eventually determine their greatest value to historical studies. They supply us with a wealth of material, covering a

space of 1,000 years out of 6,000 years of recorded history in a particular country. In this country the dominating persistence of the old traditions is grounded in two economic factors which have remained relatively changeless. One day there will be presented a fascinating panorama of these six thousand years of Egyptian history. Its author will be a man who controls fully the three languages which have dominated Egypt in its three great periods, the old Egyptian, the Greek, and the Arabic, along with Coptic and a number of subsidiary tongues, both ancient and modern. The peculiar quality of the story which he will unfold will lie in its consistency and its uniformity. Its value to the historical world in general will be determined by the pivotal position of the Red Sea in world trade and, consequently, the key position of Egypt in world politics. It will offer a unique opportunity for the study of the effects of the introduction of exotic ideas, under long-continued foreign control, among a given people in a given situation. What are the reality and the depth of the changes which seem to have taken place, in Egypt, as measured by the character, the hopes, and the ideals of the resident population? How powerful has the effect of tradition been, as measured in the same terms? In a study of this scope, the Greek papyri will assume primary importance, inasmuch as they give us a knowledge of the activities and the thought of the *fellaheen*, such as is not attainable for Egypt in any other period. Great as the service of the Greek papyri will be in widening our knowledge of the Hellenistic-Roman world, it is in the setting of Egyptian history, in its large vista, that their greatest usefulness must ultimately lie.

Before this great end can be attained much preliminary work must be done. We must wait upon careful investigations by the over-burdened Egyptologists for exact knowledge of many phases of the historical life of Egypt in the Pharaonic period, for the Greco-Egyptian administrative edifice was built upon and around the core of the ancient Pharaonic structure. As a concrete instance, the Greco-Egyptian system of tax collection is now known fairly completely. But a decision as to the amount and the character of the Greek adaptation of the traditional Egyptian system of taxation cannot yet be taken. Such a decision, however, is an essential in estimating the genius of the ancient Greeks on the practical side of political administration. The Ptolemies attached the Greek custom of lease of the tax collection to the existing Pharaonic machinery of taxation. The process of this adjustment was not an easy one. The difficulty in answering the problem of the amount of the Pharaonic tradition lies somewhat in the lack of material from the early years of the Ptolemaic régime, but more definitely in the fact that we have no clear reconstruction of the Pharaonic system².

The suggestion ventured above is that the papyri, used by a master of Egyptian history, will ultimately contribute to a proper understanding of a thoroughly

²See Ulrich Wilcken in Ludwig Mitteis and Ulrich Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, I, 1, 182, note 3, 183 (Leipzig, 1912).

unique case of historical continuity in a land necessarily important in world history by reason of its strategic position. At present, however, we are in the period of the editing of the paper documents saved to us by virtue of a rainless climate, and in the early stages of the synthetic exploitation of the documents already edited. Individually considered, thousands of these paper fragments are, to be sure, of minor importance. It is through the massing of numbers of documents and the study of them in related groups that fragments in themselves insignificant assume real value. Necessarily the first labor which has been undertaken in the process of historical synthesis has been the attempt to develop a sound view of the administration and life of Egypt itself, first, as a kingdom under the rule of the Macedonian dynasty, from Ptolemy Soter to the death of Cleopatra, secondly, as a province under the rule of the Emperors at Rome and those at Constantinople who followed the Ptolemies in controlling the Eastern Mediterranean lands. Throughout this period Egypt was important for itself alone, particularly in the economic world of that time, through the constant wheat supply which it furnished. In this field, as restricted territorially to Egypt, the Greek papyri have recovered for us a land unknown except in blank political outline. This outline has already been filled in to an amazing extent. The picture is now indeed colorful, and in fact almost too crowded with minutiae of administrative, economic, and social details, the affairs of thousands of little people with their multiple petty interests! The individuals are insignificant as historical agents. But *en masse* they assume importance and their petty interests become compelling, because it was for them that the history of their time was made. In the complaints of these peasants the doom of a great civilization is read. Perhaps some day these men of small thoughts and petty interests will tell us why this civilization waned. For in their insignificance lies the answer to a great historical question—if we can interpret correctly their multiple voices.

The intensive study of Egyptian administration and its economic and social life in the period covered by the Greek papyri has gone forward at an accelerated pace, even during and since the period of the World War. Already the fundamental ideas and the changes in these comprehensive phases of Egyptian life may be studied in two sound synthetic treatments⁶. A history of Ptolemaic Egypt, embodying our knowledge as revised and deepened by the addition of the earlier papyrological information, is also at hand⁷. The number of studies appearing upon Egypt of the Byzantine period is not at all commensurate with the amount of the material at hand and the importance of the knowledge to be gained. For the 350 years of West Roman rule, from Augustus to Constantine, two new studies have quite recently been published⁸. Obvious-

ly, all the intensive studies which now appear will be subject to many changes of detail as the work of editing the papyri proceeds.

The value of the papyri is not limited to the country which has alone preserved these documents to our time. They have what may be called a 'lateral' significance in that they throw much light, some of it directly, but most of it by reflection or refraction, upon the conditions of the Hellenistic kingdoms contemporary with the Ptolemaic régime in the Nile valley, and, later, upon the other provinces of the Roman and Byzantine Empires. In this field of research the problem becomes highly complicated and the methods of research exacting and delicate. One must always keep in mind that Egypt, by its position, its productivity, and the character of its people, was atypical in the Mediterranean world. This is particularly the case under West Roman rule. The Macedonian descendants of Lagus recognized that Egypt was not amenable to thorough reorganization in conformity with the Greek city-state principle. Egyptian political development in the Hellenistic period therefore shows a wide variance from that of the kingdom of the Seleucids where, along its western fringes, the Hellenic city-state ideal had been long and firmly established. The keen political mind of Augustus Caesar recognized the abnormal character of Egypt, its tradition of highly centralized absolutism, and the necessity of the continuance of this tradition. It is for this reason that the tendency toward administrative uniformity which elsewhere characterizes the Roman Empire made such slow progress in Egypt.

Our new knowledge of Egypt is also changing in many ways our understanding of conditions outside the confines of Egypt itself. In estimating these changes the atypical character of the political forms and social life of Egypt must be kept in mind constantly. One has also to recall constantly the restricted area of the papyri finds. On this side their importance is not comparable to that of the epigraphical evidence, the preservation of which is not dependent upon climate and is not confined to one arid land. Yet the papyri also have their wider significance and more than a local applicability. We now know the banking business of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt in considerable detail⁹. It was conducted under the Ptolemies as a complete State monopoly. The Ptolemaic banking system certainly held a greater place in the business life of that time than its foremost student, the German scholar Friedrich Preisigke, was willing to accord it a few years ago¹⁰. A large papyrus fragment of the Zenon group of documents, dated 254-253 B. C., which is at the University of Wisconsin, presents a column out of the day-book of the bank of Artemidorus at

treating separately Alexandria, Memphis with the Fayum, and the Thebaid is very instructive, since this treatment emphasizes the diminishing intensity of penetration by the Hellenic spirit as one moves southward.

⁶Friedrich Preisigke, *Girwesen im Griechischen Aegypten* (Straßburg, 1910).

¹⁰See Preisigke's statement in *Antikes Leben nach den Aegyptischen Papyri in Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, 71 (Leipzig, 1916).

⁶Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, etc. (see note 5); Wilhelm Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde* (Berlin, 1918).

⁷A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides* (Paris, 1903).

⁸J. G. Milne's *History of Egypt under Roman Rule* has appeared in the third edition, in revised and enlarged form (London, 1924). Wilhelm Schubart's book, *Aegypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed* (Berlin, 1922), gives a useful picture of the life of Egypt for this period of a thousand years. Schubart's method of

Philadelphia in the Fayûm¹¹. The impression left by this piece is that of a well-developed system in which village banks were in a position to pay out cash items of 20 to 36 drachmas per day upon single accounts. This sum does not seem ridiculously small when one ascertains from the same documents that the daily wage of unskilled labor at the same time and place was about one obol. Other papyri out of the archives of this Carian Greek, Zenon, who was general manager of the great agricultural estate of the Dioecetes Apollonius, confirm the impression of the extent of the Ptolemaic bank monopoly and its high importance in the economic life of Egypt as early as the third century B. C.¹² For the present we are unable to speculate regarding the reasons which induced the Roman Imperial administration to abandon the Ptolemaic system of the State banking monopoly. The fact, however, is certain that under Roman rule the banking business was suddenly and completely thrown open to private management. As proof of the importance of banking in the commercial life of Roman Egypt one observation must suffice. The city of Arsinoe, the capital of the Fayûm, boasted seven different banks existing at the same time¹³.

Further, the papyri have filled in a gap between our meager evidence on banking from the time of Demosthenes and the more complete materials from the late Roman Republic and the Empire. We know how the Greek banking system was introduced into Egypt by Greek business efficiency and adapted to the purposes of the autocratic exploitation of the Ptolemies. In the light of this new information the banking development at Athens in the fourth century B. C. has already undergone reinvestigation; and a reworking of materials formerly available upon the Athenian banking house of Pasion and Phormio has yielded new and more definite results¹⁴. A new treatment of the whole development of banking in the Greco-Roman world could now be undertaken which would make an interesting chapter in the history of private and public finance.

The coming of the Hellenes into Egypt under the administration of Ptolemy Soter, the first of its Macedonian rulers, stirred the country and its people from the sluggish state into which Pharaonic and priestly tradition had thrown them. Restless, inquiring, modern, disillusioned with democracy by a century of sad experiences, capable in business as in other fields of human effort, and entirely conscious of their superiority over neighboring peoples, the Greeks came into Egypt in swarms to exploit in their own interests the labor asset furnished by the inert mass of the Egyptian peasants¹⁵.

¹¹Published by W. L. Westermann and A. G. Laird in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1923), 81-90. For an interpretation of the Zenon documents as a whole see M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B. C., A Study in Economic History* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1922). This book was reviewed in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 16.111-112.

¹²Two more bankers are known to us by name from the Zenon correspondence, Zoilus and Isocrates. See M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt, etc.*, 38, 106.

¹³Preisigke, *Antikes Leben*, 71.

¹⁴J. Hasebroek, *Zum Griechischen Bankwesen*, in *Hermes* 55 (1920), 113-173.

¹⁵Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt, etc.*, 52, 178, 182, *et passim*.

In agriculture they introduced new seeds in their attempt to wring double harvests from a soil already generous. They cross-bred their sheep with the strains of Western Asia Minor. The crop rotations used by the Egyptian farmers as displayed in the papyri do not seem to follow any hard and fast rule. The general practice seems to have been the rotation of three crops, often wheat, barley, and beans, or some forage crop, such as *aracus* (alfalfa), in place of the edible varieties of beans¹⁶. A long lease, unusually complete in its preservation, which has been published in the Tebtunis Papyri (No. 105), is characteristic of the later Ptolemaic period, and shows the burden put upon the soil of Egypt and upon the peasants' labor by the system of exploitation which the Greeks evolved. In 103 B. C. an Egyptian or Greco-Egyptian half-breed named Ptolemaeus, bearing also the Egyptian name Petesuchus, leased for five years a holding the exact acreage of which is not given; but it was of about twenty acres, presumably. The lessor was one Horion, calling himself a 'Macedonian, sword-bearer in attendance upon the strategus'. He, also, was probably Greco-Egyptian or full-blood Egyptian, despite his Greek name and his Macedonian designation. This Horion had leased the holding from one Maron, who held it from the King as an emolument of the military service which he rendered. The land and the peasant Ptolemaeus were therefore paying rent to three legal persons—to the government, which owned the land, and to two middlemen. The use of the land is definitely fixed as follows. In the first year the actual farmer, Ptolemaeus, could sow what he wished. Apparently, he would sow the whole area in grains. Thereafter he was bound to sow one-half the holding in resting crops, of any kind which he might choose, except oil-bearing plants. A provision at the end of the lease fixed a fine of ten *artabae* of wheat per year to be paid by the lessee if he did not 'rest up' one-half the land as agreed. These arrangements of the lease of Ptolemaeus indicate a two-field system of rotation. But two years later we find in another lease of the same land (Tebtunis Papyri, I, No. 106) that Ptolemaeus was renting directly from Maron, who held from the King. In this lease the peasant agreed to rest one-third of the land each year, planting to hay, to *aracus*, or to fenugreek. Maron had evidently reverted, in this second lease, to the requirement of the more standardized three-field system.

Widely at variance with the rotation provisions represented in the two leases mentioned above are those laid down in a lease of some land near Oxyrhynchus from the year 88 of the Christian era (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, II, No. 280). The peasant was permitted to sow the land as he desired for three years of the four-year term of the lease, except that he could not sow a dye plant called woad, which was hard upon the soil. In the last year, however, he agreed to sow half the land in wheat, the other half in the leguminous forage

¹⁶Upon the subject of farm management and farming methods as they appear in the papyri, we now have a splendid study by a practical farmer, Michael Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im Hellenistischen Ägypten* (Munich, 1925).

crop called *aracus*. Of this forage crop he was to be permitted to cut one-half; but the other half was to be ploughed under. This green manuring of one-quarter of the land must certainly have left that part in excellent condition upon the cessation of the lease. The quarter from which the *aracus* had been cut would have been in good condition. The remaining half would obviously have been weakened by four years of continued grain planting. But this would no doubt be met by the requirements laid down by the primary lessee in his next lease, whether with Ptolemaeus or with the tenant who was to succeed him.

In the field of ancient industry and trade, particularly in its organization, the papyri will eventually add a great deal to our existing knowledge. The compiling and systematic use of the papyrological material already available in these fields has no more than begun. Especially welcome are the numerous apprentice contracts which give an insight into the method of training skilled workmen. These contracts are most numerous for the weaving trade. The relationship established between the master workman and the apprentice was that of 'teacher' and 'pupil'—the customary designation for the two in the contracts. The evidence at hand¹⁷ shows that there was in Roman Egypt no period fixed by law for apprenticeship; the weaving contracts fix the term of apprenticeship anywhere from one year to five years. It was customary for the apprentice to live at home, though the teacher usually made a fixed payment to the father or the guardian of the apprentice, or to the master, in case the apprentice was a slave boy, as food and clothing allowance. The evidence thus far available is fairly conclusive that this was not a system which conduced to the exploitation of child labor. The training began about the age of puberty. In the weaving trade, in which the apprentice would soon become useful about the shop of the master weaver, provisions were made for pay to the father, the guardian, or the owner of the apprentice. This pay increased with the growing skill of the boy. In the more highly skilled trades, such as flute-playing, the contract might call for an examination of the skill of the apprentice, to be conducted by three men proficient in that *techné*. In the teaching of shorthand, a two-year course, a text-book was used; and here, too, some test of proficiency was exacted at the termination of the course which would satisfactorily indicate that the teaching had been effective.

(To be Concluded)

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN

REVIEWS

A History of Sculpture. By George Henry Chase and Chandler Rathfon Post. Harpers' Fine Arts Series. New York: Harper and Brothers (1924). Pp. 382.—306 Illustrations.

The history of occidental sculpture can not be adequately treated in a single volume, but Messrs. Chase

and Post have produced a readable and scholarly handbook that will undoubtedly prove useful to many who desire merely a general survey of the field. After a short Introduction, which covers the materials, tools, and processes of sculpture, there are brief chapters on Egyptian and Mesopotamian sculpture. Both are adequate from the standpoint of the influence which the art of these lands exerted upon later sculpture, although the treatment of the former is much too brief to do justice to the art of that country. Then in succession the authors discuss the sculpture of Greece, Rome, the first millenium A. D., the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance; the Baroque and the Rococo; Neoclassicism; Modern Sculpture; and the Sculpture of the Orient. The advisability of including this final chapter, in which Mr. Post has undertaken to give a sketch of oriental sculpture in less than twenty pages and with only six illustrations, is more than doubtful.

At the beginning of each chapter the attempt is made in a brief sketch to relate the art to the social, religious, and political history of the period—an admirable feature, consistently carried out except in the chapter on Modern Sculpture, where it is practically omitted. At the end of each chapter is a selected bibliography. These bibliographies are, in the main, well chosen, though there is one notable omission, the monumental work of Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sächsischen Kaiser*, and at least one title is included that might well have been omitted, R. B. Richardson's *History of Greek Sculpture*. But these are matters that involve individual judgment. This remark holds true of the inclusion of monographs on special monuments and artists, which seem out of place in a handbook of this type. For example, one may well ask why, in the bibliography for Roman Sculpture, the authors include Petersen's two volumes on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, but omit Cichorius's book, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule*. Moreover, since the book is intended primarily for an English-speaking public, one regrets the omission of English monographs in favor of foreign, especially in the case of so important an artist as Donatello, where Miss Maude Cruttwell's book is available, or of Michelangelo, where Symonds's *Life* might well have been supplemented by Gerald Davies's monograph.

In speaking of the characteristics of Memphite sculpture, Mr. Chase remarks that "any period should be judged by its best productions rather than by those of inferior merit..." (21). It is to be regretted that he and Mr. Post did not follow this principle consistently in their choice and treatment of material. What, for example, will the ordinary reader learn as to Greek sculpture from the paragraph devoted to Calamis and Pythagoras (page 87), or the one entitled *Other Sculptors of the Fifth Century* (102), or the list of works by Scopas with possible attributions (119), or the passage devoted to Timotheus, Leochares, and Bryaxis (125)? Part of this space might better have been devoted to an adequate discussion of the "Calf-bearer" (65), the more especially since later, on page

¹⁷Collected by me some years ago and published in *Classical Philology* 9 (1914), 295-315. The number of contracts known has increased since that time.

76, reference is made to certain features of early Attic sculpture as typified by this statue, or to a description of the original appearance of the Victory of Delos instead of the bare statement (64) that this "can be restored with practical certainty", or to some account of the Eirene of Cephisodotus.

In like manner a lack of proportion is revealed in the hurried and inadequate treatment of French Gothic sculpture of the thirteenth century in two pages of text, while two and one-half pages are devoted to the same period in Germany. If Mr. Post was troubled by lack of space, he might better have omitted the futile archaeological discussion of dating on page 184, and have given the reader some idea of the styles that developed in the School of Paris, the First and Second Schools of Amiens, and the School that worked on the transepts of Chartres.

On similar grounds the sections devoted to the Italian sculpture of the fifteenth century are open to criticism. The reader approaching Italian sculpture for the first time through these pages will certainly find it difficult to obtain an orderly idea of its development, if he is able to avoid the pitfall of actual misconception. Will he not have difficulty in comprehending the transitional rôle of Ghiberti between the Gothic and the Renaissance, when he has already read of Donatello who is the very essence of the early Quattrocento? How surprised he will be, some day, to find that the first life-size bronze statue to be erected in Florence since Roman days was cast by Ghiberti, when he had read of him only as a worker in relief! This same inexperienced reader will not easily understand the position of Jacopo della Quercia in the development of Italian sculpture, when he finds him mentioned under the heading "Siena", immediately after the statement that "The new style of the Renaissance was disseminated throughout the rest of Italy very largely by Florentine masters, especially Donatello" (320), even though Mr. Post does say that Jacopo "was not Sienese in temperament" and lived "at the dawn of the Renaissance". Finally, an arrangement by small local schools is to be questioned in a work of such general character as this, especially when it involves the inclusion in one of these schools of such sculptors as the Mantegazza brothers, to whom "it is impossible to attribute with certainty any one piece of sculpture" (323), or of Andrea Bregno, while Matteo Civitali, whose statues in the Cathedral of Genoa represent the transition to the ideals of the High Renaissance, is completely omitted.

From another standpoint one may criticize the acceptance of the Frankfort Athena as evidence for the style of Myron in contrast to the failure even to mention the Bologna Head and Dresden statues in connection with the Lemnian Athena of Phidias. The statement (93), as if it were an unquestioned fact, that the Ludovisi Throne and the Boston Relief belonged to one and the same monument is unfortunate, as are also the obviously erroneous descriptions of the Victory (109) as "tying her sandal", or of the Gaul (135) as a man "who tries to struggle to his feet". Equally to be questioned, in Chapter IX, is the statement, as of an

established fact, that "the whole class of arcaded sarcophagi may now definitely be denominated as a type that was evolved in or near this < = the Syrian-Palestinian > region" (175), or that the class of Ravenate sarcophagi "with the unbroken plane of relief... is thoroughly Syrian" (178). One may ask, moreover, if the statement that the epitaph of Robert de Quinghen in the Museum of Tournai may be the work of the painter, Roger van der Weyden (246), is not out of place in a handbook the limits of which do not permit the author to cite any authority.

Occasionally, out of the fullness of their knowledge, the authors use a phrase apt to mislead the ordinary reader, as when Mr. Chase speaks of the drapery of the Siphnian Caryatids as "more naturally rendered" (70), or of the Acropolis maidens as "piously buried" (76), or of the hair of the Hermes as rendered "by a series of deep, irregular grooves" (115), or of the Farnese Hercules as "based on a Lysippic original" (147). In passing, one might ask, if we may write "Lysippic", why may we not say 'Phidiac' and 'Scopadic' instead of "Phidian" and "Scopasian". One would also like to know Mr. Chase's authority for the word "offerrant" (65).

Errors of fact are few in number. The sixth of the Erechtheum Caryatids is now represented on the temple by a marble copy instead of a terracotta cast (107). Verrocchio's group of Christ and St. Thomas is of bronze, not of marble (317).

The illustrations are, in general, good and well selected. Approximately ten per cent, however, are practically worthless, in part because they are so small that details can not be made out (compare Figures 4, 72, 110, 134, 151, 262), in part because the original photograph, or the reproduction, is poor (see Figures 145, 179, 201, 223, 230, 264). In a few instances they have not been selected with due regard for the text, as in the case of Bernini, where the rather poor illustration of the shrine for St. Peter's chair (Fig. 208), which is barely mentioned (376), might well have been replaced by the Apollo and Daphne, which is thoroughly discussed (373 f.) and even compared to the Apollo Belvidere, which is reproduced in Figure 71.

The general make up of the book is good and there are few misprints.

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Apollo: An Illustrated Manual of the History of Art Throughout the Ages. By S. Reinach. Translated from the French by Florence Symonds. New Edition, Revised by the Author. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: William Heinemann (1924). Pp. xvi + 350. Over 600 Illustrations. \$2.50.

A new edition of this well-known and useful book comes at a most opportune period. In some ways, we are living in a Renaissance, especially in this country. Never has there been such a universal interest in art and beauty as now; never have so many young men and women specialized in art in our Universities and

Colleges. We classicists should hail this with joy, realizing, as we do, the enormous contributions of Greece, and, to a lesser extent, Rome, in this field. From art to literature is a short and easy step—and the hope of the teacher of Greek art should be that the students who sit under him will become so interested in its wonders that they will turn to translations of the masterpieces of Greek literature, and encourage their children later to study not only the art, but the language, the literature, and the history of the people that produced the Parthenon, the Hermes of Praxiteles, and the Aphrodite of Melos.

And so we welcome a new edition of Apollo. Originally published in French in 1904, it was immediately translated into English and other languages, and has run through many editions. Those of 1907 (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 1.31) and 1914 are before the reviewer as he writes. The owner of the 1907 edition will find many changes and improvements in this new volume; while a comparison with that of 1914 will show a number of differences, and several additional illustrations, particularly in the opening chapter, which deals with the Origin of Art—a field which is pre-eminently the author's specialty.

At the end of each chapter a bibliography is appended. These bibliographies, which were excellent and comprehensive when the book first appeared, are alleged in the Publisher's Note (vii) to have been brought up to date. This, however, at least in connection with Greek and Roman art, is far from being the case. One looks in vain for the results of the latest investigations in the classical field, where so much has been done in recent years. In the Minoan field, for example, Sir Arthur Evans's great book, *The Palace of Minos* (16.158-160¹), should have been included, while H. R. Hall's *Aegean Archaeology* (8.190-191), the most up-to-date text-book for the general study of the subject, is omitted. In the purely classical field, M. Reinach could surely have referred his readers to a later edition of Ernest Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* than that of 1896, which has long been superseded (for that of 1915 see 10.181-182). Other books of major importance for which one looks in vain are Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors* (5.156-158), Fowler and Wheeler, *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology* (3.164-166), Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (15.118-120), Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* (14.44-46), Weege, *Etruskische Malerei* (15.166-167), Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings* (16.76-79), and many others. These omissions are mentioned to show the teacher of ancient art that these bibliographies should be used with great caution, as they are far from reliable.

The readers of *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* will naturally turn, first of all, to those chapters which deal with the art of Greece and of Rome. As has been, perhaps, hinted by what was said above of the shortcomings of the bibliographies, they will find that, with one or two unimportant exceptions, text and illustrations alike are

a reprint of the preceding editions. Even the intrusion of the rather fantastic theory that the Aphrodite of Melos was a product of the School of Pheidias (54-55) is retained.

But we must not be too critical. The very fact that a new edition of Apollo was demanded shows the enormous service that it has rendered to countless laymen and teachers. The reviewer, indeed, armed with the 1907 edition, has twice, in happier pre-War days, studied the picture galleries of France, Germany, and Italy, and needed no other guide-book to aid him. For anyone who is going abroad, therefore, there can be no better companion to open his eyes to the beauties that he is to see. For it is compact, fits anywhere in the trunk or suit-case, and is comprehensive and complete. And the average lay traveller does not usually bother his head about bibliographies! In these H. G. Wellsian days of Outlines of everything under the sun, there can be no better outline of the history of art than this book.

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A CLAUSE IN CAESAR, DE BELLO GALLICO 1.38.5

IN *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 18.115-117, Mr. W. A. Lambert, in his interesting discussion of Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 1.38.5, *reliquum spatium...mons continet magna altitudine, ita ut radices montis ex utraque parte ripae fluminis contingent*, offers the order of words in the sentence in support of his view that not *ripae* but *radices* is the subject of the verb *contingant*. "Were there", he says, "any question of an emphasis which might require an inversion, in position, of subject and object, the reader might be on his guard. But there is no rhetorical need in this clause for such inversion". In response to this Professor Knapp suggested (116, note 4) that there is "a rhetorical reason, if not need, for the inverted order", resulting from the nature of the site of Vesontio. It seems to me that I can find another reason in the flow of the sentence itself.

In the first place I should like to question Mr. Lambert's statement that "the translator, putting himself in the place of the original reader, reads *radices* as nominative plural, and sees no reason for changing his mind about it to the end of the sentence". What right has he to assume that *radices* will prove to be the subject of the verb until he has reached that verb (which, it is to be noted, is in this sentence, as so often, the very last word) and assured himself that it is in the plural number? There may still be a few teachers who seek to inflict upon their pupils the barbarous practice of 'looking for the verb first', but I trust no Latinist reads Latin that way (indeed, I doubt whether any one could really read Latin after such a fashion), and surely Caesar's reader did not. In view of this, I maintain that to any one really reading the sentence *radices* presents itself on first sight as a word which is just as likely to be accusative as nominative, the chances being about equally divided (for the verb is just as likely to prove to be singular, as it is to prove to be intransitive).

In the second place, whether *radices* is nominative or accusative, the natural place for the phrase *radices montis* is, it seems to me, at the head of its clause, for the reason that our interest is already centered on the mountain and not on the banks of the river, as we have just been told that it is a characteristic of the mountain that brings about a certain result involving both mountain and banks. Thanks to the beautiful flexibility of the Latin language, the writer is at perfect liberty to begin his clause with either subject or object, and

¹These and like references in parentheses in the rest of this paragraph are to reviews of the books named, to be found in the pages of *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*. C. K.

assuredly the odds are all in favor of his choosing the object, if it is to the object that his thought has just been directed. Something of the same sort of freedom may be obtained in English by a shift in voice. Surely it would be much more natural to say, 'the remaining space... a mountain of great height occupies in such a manner that *its roots* are touched by the river-banks', than to say 'the remaining space... a mountain of great height occupies in such a manner that *the river-banks* touch its <i. e. the mountain's> roots'.

In closing, I may point out—a fact that was very forcibly borne in on me as I framed the rather awkward translation in the preceding paragraph—that the self-same Latin sentence offers a most excellent parallel from Caesar in support of my contention. *Reliquum spatium* presents exactly the same ambiguity of form as *radices*. Would Mr. Lambert say that the "original reader" at first sight naturally regarded it as a nominative, but was forced to change his mind about it because, toward the end of the clause, he came upon another word—*mons*—which is indubitably nominative? Surely not! The original reader would have had to suspend judgment about *spatium* just as he would about *radices*. And he would undoubtedly have realized that Caesar began his clause with *spatium* not because it is a subject (which of course it is not), but because he was talking about the extent of the town (*paene totum oppidum*) and kept to that general idea in *reliquum spatium*, introducing a new idea, *mons*, toward the close of his clause, just before the verb, *continet*, of which *mons* is subject, exactly as in the clause under discussion here, Caesar began his clause with *radices montis* not because it is a subject (which in my opinion it is not), but because he was talking about the mountain, and kept to that general idea in *radices montis*, introducing a new idea, *ripae fluminis*, toward the close of his clause, just before the verb, *contingant*, of which (as I, at least, believe) *ripae fluminis* is subject.

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E. ADELAIDE HAHN

SENATOR LODGE ON ROMAN REMAINS IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

In a work entitled *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918, 1.186-187* (New York, Scribners, 1925: two volumes), I found the following interesting paragraph, written by Senator Lodge while he was travelling in France in 1895:

"It seems rather a comedown to drop from your life of activity and work to the travelling of a holiday maker. But the last two weeks we have greatly enjoyed. We left the land of the great Norman Gothic and came to that of the Romanesque churches and of the remains of Rome at Nîmes and Orange and Arles. There are two of the latter finer in their way than anything in Italy. One is the theatre at Orange. It strikes you hard to come out into the quiet square and see the back-wall of that theatre. "Back-wall" does not sound imposing does it? But this wall is 118 feet high and 330 long and thirteen feet thick and goes right up unsustained to the sky line—plumb and true as the day it was built. You pass through it and there is the auditorium of the theatre cut out of the solid rock of the hill. This was a little provincial theatre, mind you. On the hill above, the castle of the Prince of Orange has crumbled to a few shapeless ruins but the theatre stands. Then the Pont du Gard at Nîmes—three tiers of noble arches—one above the other framing earth and sky—160 feet above the beautiful gorge and 880 feet span—built by Agrippa 1900 years ago—no cement and the whole held merely by the weight and the adjustment of the stones and it is as true and solid as when it was first raised. Great building primarily,

an imposing architectural effect too. Bay and I scrambled up to the top which was steep enough to have given you a moment's pleasure and went into the water way—7-8 feet high. The sides of huge rough monoliths torn down from the mountain side—roofed with flat monoliths on which "men might march on nor be pressed—twelve abreast"—Behind, a tunnel driven through the mountain. Behind again, the way went along a ledge—across a small gorge and through the mountain. And all for what? To bring water 25 miles to the little provincial city of Nîmes. I think I felt the force, the might of Rome more that afternoon than ever. Such a prodigality of strength that could use such means for such ends. The Maison Carrée at Nîmes is a gem...."

CHARLES KNAPP

FLOATING ISLANDS, ANCIENT AND MODERN

One of the most delightful of Pliny's letters (8.20) deals with the floating islands of Lacus Vadimo (compare Pliny, N. H. 2.95; Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* 3.25). There are interesting parallels to be found in recent periodicals. An article entitled *Prehistoric American Gardens*, by H. H. Manchester, in the *Garden Magazine*, September, 1925, gives an interesting account of the floating gardens (*chinampas*) of the Aztecs, referred to briefly by Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, 3.8, 4.1. These were said to have been made by twisting together willows and roots for a foundation, which was then covered with brush and spread with rich soil. They might be towed or poled from one part of a lake to another.

In the *Saturday Evening Post* of June 20, 1925, Frederick Irving Anderson, in *The White Horse*, a tale of murder and mystery, makes effective use of a floating island in an old reservoir, where vegetation grew on a tangled mass of roots that had been a section of the original forest floor, lifted by the waters let in when the reservoir was built.

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CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS III

Art and Archaeology—November, Recent Discoveries at Corinth [unsigned]. In this brief note, some account is given of the excavations by Professor T. Leslie Shear, of Princeton University, at Corinth. His discoveries seem to be of very great importance. The brief notice is illustrated by a photograph of a mosaic floor found in a Roman Villa, at Corinth. A head of Bacchus appears in the center of the mosaic; Review, by David M. Robinson, of George H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin of the—November, Three Red-Figured Greek Vases, Gisela M. A. Richter [six illustrations]; *Classical Inscriptions: Recent Accessions*, Christine Alexander [three illustrations].

Rationalist Press Annual, for 1926—The Trial of Socrates, J. B. Bury [this Annual was published in October last in London, England, by the Rationalist Press Association, Ltd. Professor Bury's article is to be found on pages 17-26. I owe this item to Mr. Alexander Kadison].

School Review—November, Foreign Languages in France, Arthur G. Bovée [the article has to do with the status of the Classics and of modern foreign languages both in France. There are references to the Report of the Classical Investigation].

CHARLES KNAPP